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S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

TUESDAY, MAY 18, 1897.

WASHINGTON.

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War in Cuba.

SPEECH

OF

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Mr. W. A. Smith

HON. WILLIAM E. MASON.

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 23) declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained—

Mr. MASON said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: That we may have a fair understanding as to the pending joint resolution, I desire briefly to state its contents. As I understand it, it is Senate joint resolution No. 26, Order of Business on the Calendar 59. I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that it was introduced on the 1st day of April, and on the 6th of April it was placed on the Calendar.

The provisions of the joint resolution are, simply:

Resolved, etc., That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and a government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

One of the interesting things to be discussed might be the "state of the art," as we call it in the law, of this particular resolution. It will be the "state of the art" of polite delay, to take the place of the old-fashioned game we used to call filibustering. Some of our distinguished friends in the minority have delayed action day after day upon the pending joint resolution upon one pretense after another, although long before I took my seat in this Chamber the people of the United States had expected this body to speak upon this question. Day after day the people have heard for the past month the voice of eloquent Senators saying what should be done in this great cause.

Day after day the papers have been full of the announcement that this country was at last to speak, and that the barbarities inflicted by the Spaniard on the Cuban were to have some rebuke, at least, in the Senate of the United States. The rules of the Senate, to which we all bow with such graceful dignity, have permitted this gentlemanly filibuster to continue until there is to-day no guaranty that the voice of the people will be heard here, or that there is to be any protest from the American people, either in the legislature or by the Executive, against the sale of girls, the murder of children, and the barbarities that the Spaniard calls "war."

That is the state of the art.

But I want to say to my colleagues now, at the opening of the discussion that I shall be indulged in, I am not going to deal in technicalities. I am not going to dwell long on international law. Every student of international law knows that it is made by force and that there is no barbarity of all the past that did not find its

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precedent in international law. International law is as flexible as time, as changeable as everything else in the earth.

I am not studied much in the use of language. I much believe in the old-fashioned definition that language is the means of communicating thought. I have not yet learned to appreciate the modern diplomatic definition that language is the means of concealing thought. I am here to say as a Republican, I am here to carry out the pledge of my party in convention assembled, that there is no demand of the intelligent, liberty-loving, Christian people of this country which should receive more speedy and full recognition than that made upon us, here and now, that we shall lift our voices and our hands in defense of liberty in the Island of Cuba. Day after day has passed, Mr. President, but no vote has been had. No one in this body doubts the reason why. A majority of us favor the measure, but the majority can not control.

The Executive, that splendid American citizen, has been somewhat criticised, I think by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], for some of his ideas upon silver; for there is no discussion so sacred that will not invite the question if there is the jingle of a 10-cent piece on the carpet. He criticises our President upon his position on the financial question. Some of the other friends have been inclined to praise him on account of other things. I am here neither to praise nor to criticise the President. It is enough for me to know that in the most exciting political campaign this country has ever seen, amidst the heat of battle and the dust and noise, William McKinley's name, his splendid character, his beautiful life, was like a pillar of fire by night that led us to the greatest victory we have known in modern times, for an honest currency and for protection to the industries of the country. I do not and I shall not criticise him for the delay. I trust his judgment even though I may differ with him. I reserve the right to express my opinion and to cast my vote upon this question when the hour shall come.

And to prove to you, Mr. President, and to my colleagues upon this floor, that the hour has come, let me read to you the message of yesterday. What is it that we contend for in the joint resolution? Namely, that there is a state of war, and that we will agree to keep hands off and give every side fair play; to let the insurgents come into this country as well as the Spaniards. Here is the proof of the necessity of the pending joint resolution, in the communication made yesterday by the President of the United States. I desire to read but a part of it. The President says:

The agricultural classes have been forced from their farms into the nearest towns, where they are without work or money.

Who forced them from their farms? Was it the insurgents? If so, then there is war by the confession of the document itself. Was it the Spaniards who forced 800 American citizens away from a chance to eat bread in the sweat of their own face? Then if there is not war, there ought to be, and with us. Eight hundred American citizens driven from their homes, starving and unsheltered; yet friends upon this floor say, "We do not think there is much of a war." Answer me, then, the question, Who drove these American citizens from their homes? Stand by them one way or the other. If they were driven away by the insurgent, you admit the insurgent is strong enough to make war. If they were driven away by the Spaniard, you ought to be men enough to stand up and give heart and courage to the struggling people

of Cuba and to defend American citizens, not alone with a piece of bread, but, if need be, with bayonets and a "Long Tom."

I call your attention, Mr. President, to another part of this message. I voted for it. I had no desire to antagonize that resolution in order to pass this resolution, which I think more important. It was half a loaf better than none. Let me read you further on in this same message:

The local authorities of the several towns, however kindly disposed, are unable to relieve the needs of their own people and are altogether powerless to help our citizens.

What is the matter with our citizens in Cuba? They are hungry in a state of peace, in a land flowing with milk and honey, where all you have to do is to put your hand out and gather the gifts of God Almighty to feed yourself, and yet we are told by those who say there is no war that they can not provide themselves with what they need to eat. Again I say, Who prevents it? Is it the insurgent? Then there is war. Is it the Spaniard? Then there ought to be war.

I will read one more sentence from this document, which proves the necessity of the passage of the joint resolution under consideration:

The latest report of Consul-General Leo estimates six to eight hundred Americans are without means of support.

How did it happen, Mr. President? American citizens there investing their money, tying their life and their futures with the future of Cuba. How did it happen that six or eight hundred of them, known to the Consul-General, are out of food and out of employment?

It is desirable that a part of the sum which may be appropriated by Congress should, in the discretion of the Secretary of State, also be used for the transportation of American citizens who, desiring to return to the United States, are without means to do so.

Eight hundred Americans starving in the Island of Cuba, and we boasting of the right of an American to go anywhere in the world! And now we stand in this position: Instead of demanding of the Spaniard alike with the insurgent protection for American citizens, we say: "Please, Mr. Spaniard, we do not mind your killing the Cuban women and children; we do not mind your selling the daughters of the insurgent to the lustful sensualists of the Spanish army, but, oh, please, kind Mr. Spaniard, with the gentle, insinuating stiletto, let us take a little American bread to give to our poor, starving Americans in your peaceable island; and then, if they want to, please let us bring them home, so that we can protect them under our flag." [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER rapped with his gavel.

Mr. MASON. And yet there is no war in Cuba! If the non-combatant is starving to death, what is the combatant doing? If American citizens, 800 in one place, are being driven like dogs and swine into a herd, and the Spanish Government, refusing to feed them, compels us to send from our store, in the name of God, if it is not war, what is it?

The joint resolution we passed was this:

That the sum of \$50,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the relief of suffering American citizens in the Island of Cuba, said money to be expended at the discretion and under the direction of the Consul-General of the United States at Habana.

"Suffering American citizens!" Do we mean to give notice to the world that Coxey's army has moved down to the Island of Cuba—that they are tramps—or do you mean to say, by the resolution

that passed yesterday, that 800 American citizens, as good as you or I, entitled to the same defense under our flag as you or I, are suffering because the brute in command of the island drives them like dogs away from the place where they can supply their daily needs? We are so tender and so fearful of injuring the delicate feelings of the Spanish minister that we are willing to humiliate our citizens and feed them with the hand of charity, and yet the Senate of the United States says there is no war—the minority says so, and a minority of this body is always the Senate of the United States. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I only want one minute upon the question of what brought about this condition of affairs. It is familiar to every gentleman upon this floor. Those people suffer exactly as our fathers suffered in 1770 and on until we relieved ourselves of the yoke of England—that lovely old mother country to whom we owe so much, as my eloquent friend from Maryland says. Yes, we do owe her a great deal, but, thank God, we settled a part of it at Bunker Hill. [Laughter.] There may have been a little balance in her favor, but we settled that by our votes here within the past two weeks.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

The very moment that a Cuban baby comes from the womb of a Cuban mother that baby is taxed. When it is taken out of the cradle, its very swaddling clothes are taxed. Carried to the church to be christened, the very benediction of God is taxed—not by a kind of a tariff tax, Brother MILLS, but a tax to go toward keeping the Spaniard in idleness and lazy luxury. They are taxed from the cradle to the grave. When the groom takes his bride to the altar, she is taxed, if she has not been before sacrificed to some brutal Spaniard.

Revolution after revolution sprang up, and when the insurgents had about won the prize the Spaniard, with that simple diplomacy—they are always diplomatic—with which they have always convinced the insurgents in revolution after revolution, persuaded them if they would only lay down their arms they would be better treated. Ten years at one time they stayed out. This time they have been out two years. Is it wonderful, Mr. President, is it at all surprising, that to-day the brave leader of the insurgent army says he has no compromise to make? The Cubans have been taxed and robbed until there is no choice but death or starvation.

After the boy married the girl and went into business he was taxed. The sign over his door was taxed. The Spaniard found that was not enough, and put a tax upon each letter of his sign. They taxed his clerks, his amount of business, and stopped only when their grinding exactions threatened to crush out his life, and thus put an end to extortion. The native-born Cuban, up to some two years ago, could not even teach school in his own bailiwick, and has never been permitted to hold any office of honor or trust. Some of their children came to our schools. They heard the music of Yankee Doodle, and they took back to their insurgent father and brother the story of Bunker Hill, and they have begun to demand their right—their right to govern themselves.

Let me say to you, Mr. President, whether we shall sit silent on and on; whether we shall continue, in this dignified body, to be silent when all the people ask us to speak; whether the United States shall do its duty or not, under the providence of God, Cuba shall be free. There shall be no slave on the continent where our flag floats. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

My friend from Maryland yesterday asked the question: "Where is the Cuban government?" I am going to ask the Secretary to read a statement which will take but two minutes. I propose to give my authority—Mr. Decker, one of those newspaper men who like to deal in fiction when they run short of facts, as my brother said, which I do not agree with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SEWELL in the chair). The Secretary will read as requested, in the absence of objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

CUBAN GOVERNMENT.

Salvador Cisneros, President of the Republic of Cuba, has his headquarters, with a full cabinet of officers (and has continuously maintained it there), within 3 miles of Cubitas. Cubitas is a Spanish fortified town in the province of Puerto Principe, and about 50 miles northwest of Puerto Principe, the capital of that province. It is to the east of the trocha. In January last President Cisneros and his cabinet crossed the trocha and joined Gomez and remained with him until the end of February, when, at Gomez's suggestion, he again crossed the trocha and returned to his headquarters, Gomez remarking: "You know you are perfectly safe there." They have a constitution, a code of civil law, a code of military law, a military recruiting law, and an electoral law.

Under that law twenty-four delegates are now being elected to a central congress which is to convene September 2, 1897, for the purpose of electing a President and for the transaction of such other business as may come before it. The island is divided into districts, which are again divided into prefectures, and these into subprefectures. These prefects and subprefects are administering civil government according to the civil code. They also act as commissaries for the army and as postal officers. A very perfect and efficient postal service is in operation. Mr. Karl Decker, who is authority for these statements, having just come from a two months' sojourn with Gomez and the Cuban patriots, wrote and mailed through this insurgent postal service a letter to Consul General Lee at Habana detailing the death of Mr. Crosby and started for Habana the same day. His letter reached Habana six days before he did.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Will the Senator allow me one question?

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I wish to ask the Senator whether that is the kind of information the Senate of the United States is to accept as to the existence of a government in the Island of Cuba?

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, when struggling humanity can only speak through its best methods; when the insurgent is surrounded by the Spaniard, who sells his daughter and murders his boy; when American correspondents of the newspapers go into the forests to find the news, and when the Spaniard covers every port of entry on the Island of Cuba, we should, in the name of humanity, take the best we can get and be satisfied with that. If this account should overstate the facts; if it be not true that they have an election; if it be not true that they have a capital, we do know this: The wealth of a nation is not measured by the capital dome; the wealth of humanity is not measured by the money in the banks or the miles of railroad, and if the government of struggling Cuba to-day holds its capital under the trees, with nothing but God and the stars for a shelter, I am for that government just the same. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The information, of course, has not been conveyed by an ambassador nor other representative of the insurgent government, for none is here; he has not yet been received by our Executive; we have not yet declared that such government exists, and the effort to-day is, upon the information we have, to lend a helping hand to this extent, by acknowledging their belligerent rights and giving the insurgents who fight for liberty the same right to buy

our wheat, the same right to buy our corn, and the same right to buy our guns that the Spaniard has in our open markets.

Mr. GALLINGER. If the Senator will permit me, in addition to the testimony given by Mr. Karl Decker, I hold in my hand Document No. 19, published by the Senate, which shows the absolute existence of a government in the Island of Cuba, and not only that, but gives the constitution of the Republic of Cuba and certain laws which have been passed. Perhaps the Senator has overlooked the existence of this document.

Mr. MASON. I had heard of the document, but have never seen it.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think it would be well for the Senator from Maryland to see it.

Mr. MASON. "A government on paper," says the Senator from Maryland. That is more than Washington had at Valley Forge.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I beg the Senator's pardon.

Mr. MASON. I will give you pardon, but that is true. [Laughter.]

Mr. WELLINGTON. I deny it.

Mr. MASON. I do not care what you deny; it is true.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Oh, but stick to facts. Mr. President, I insist upon having fairness in this discussion. It is not necessary to go outside of the truth and start in upon fiction. You know, sir, and I know, that when Washington was at Valley Forge he had a government back of him. He had a government back of him before he went to Valley Forge. We know very well that when Washington was at Valley Forge it was the darkest hour of the Revolution. It is true that he was then surrounded by his Continentals, barefooted, hatless, ragged, and torn, but back of them there was a government, back of them was a Continental Congress, which had appointed Washington to be the Commander in Chief of that army. The Senator very well knows it. Let us be fair in this discussion. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to stand by fairness, but I will not be misrepresented upon the floor of the Senate. I will not have American history falsified upon the floor of the Senate for the benefit of even the Cuban insurgents.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, I am extremely surprised that my friend should get excited. I made the statement that Washington at Valley Forge had a paper government, and it was a paper government. That paper was not worth a continental damn. [Laughter.] The money of your Government was not worth more than waste paper in the markets of the world, and you would not have had the power at Valley Forge to stem the incoming tide of the English if it had not been for Lafayette and public sentiment that came to our relief from all over the world. We propose now to give to Cuba what Lafayette gave to Washington at Valley Forge. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. WELLINGTON. Mr. President, one question more.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland will suspend a moment. Occupants of the galleries are reminded that they occupy their seats by the courtesy of the Senate, and any infringement of the rules of the Senate which require order will necessitate having the galleries cleared by the Presiding Officer.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Mr. President, I am sure that my friend the Senator from Illinois is carried away by his sympathy for Cuba into making statements that will not be verified by written history. He knows when Washington was at Valley Forge there

stood back of him not only a central Government under the Continental Congress, but there was back of that Continental Congress thirteen State governments which had been built upon the colonies which formed the United States of America. He knows full well that there were thirteen colonies that had been formed into States by the will of the people on each and every occasion. History will tell that the State of Maryland had been formed, and that the governor of Maryland, a civil officer of that State, sent the first regiment that left the Southern colonies to go to the assistance of Massachusetts in the great Revolutionary struggle—the Alleghany Riflemen, from my own section of the State. The Senator must know this.

I want to emphasize, sir, here and now, that there is not in Cuba to-day, and there never has been since the beginning of this rebellion or revolution, such a government as you can look to. There have been no jury trials, and you know that. Sir, there is not in existence there anywhere, in a province or in a central port, any government whatsoever that can be so denominated according to law.

Let us be fair. Let us discuss this. I know I am here in defense of a proposition that does not seem to be popular in the country to-day. I am willing to wait for vindication, because I am for my country and its best interests.

Mr. GALLINGER. You will wait forever.

Mr. WELLINGTON. The Senator says we can wait forever.

Mr. GALLINGER. No; you will wait forever, I say.

Mr. WELLINGTON. No; I am not going to wait forever.

Mr. GALLINGER. You will die waiting.

Mr. WELLINGTON. No; I am not going to die at present. [Laughter.] Oh, no; but if you are in favor of liberty and freedom, I will tell you how you can best get it for Cuba, and how you can best get it for all the countries around you—make republican institutions respectable, say when there is a republic that there shall be back of it conservatism and law.

I am proud of my country, and I do not intend to be placed in a false position upon this matter. I am as much an American as is the Senator from Illinois. I believe in liberty as much as he does. I believe in the flag of the country as much as he does, and when it comes to waving the American flag I can do that as well as he can.

But that is not the question. We are now discussing as to whether it is best that the United States of America should recognize the belligerency of Cuba. In my humble opinion, it is not best to do so, and for that reason I have taken the position that I took yesterday. One thing I did accomplish yesterday. It seems to have stirred up the gentlemen on the other side. It seems to have brought to the fore and front this morning the Senator from Illinois. It has brought him so far that he has left the land of truth back of him and is wandering in the land of romance and fiction created by himself. Unfortunately, that is not good ground to stand upon when you go into international questions. It is not a question of what the sympathies of this people may be, but it is a question, and a great question, to know as to what the effect will be upon the United States of America.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, the applause of the galleries or their hootings and laughter make but very little difference to me. I am here to carry out for the State I represent the feeling and sentiment I have and what I believe to be just, honest, and correct, and for the best interests of my country.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, the statement of fact by my colleague from Maryland that he will not die is quite sufficient to gratify my most sanguine hopes. I hope it is true, but it is like some of his other statements in regard to the provisional or the present government of Cuba. This document, reported by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], and the papers accompanying the report submitted by Hon. J. D. Cameron from the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate on December 21, 1896, on a joint resolution acknowledging the independence of Cuba, gives a full statement of the officers of that government; it shows what part of the island is under their control, and shows how they collect their taxes.

It is conceded that we gained our independence with but 3,000,000 of inhabitants. In the Island of Cuba to-day there are a million and a half at least; but the Senator would measure in his scales of justice and equity the divine question of liberty by mere questions of numbers. It follows, therefore, that if 3,000,000 Americans were entitled to liberty, a million and a half of Cubans are only entitled to 50 per cent of liberty. [Laughter.]

Here is their government. There is a report made by a committee before you and I became statesmen [laughter], before we took the oath of office at that desk and began to draw our salaries with great regularity [laughter]—speaking for myself. There is the report; there is the evidence. The Senator speaks of the great duty of the United States Senate. I call his attention to a publication in this morning's newspapers. I know, from the statement of the Senator and from many of my colleagues, that a newspaper statement is like a gentle breeze against the great Rock of Gibraltar; but here is the breeze, here is a petition signed by the leading merchants of the great cities in your country and mine. Let me read you just one line of it. Let me show to the Senator that the Republican party was right in its convention platform when it said the great question to be settled in the future was to recognize belligerency and declare the independence of the Island of Cuba. You were elected on that platform, and so was I. The President of the United States accepted that platform in every detail, was elected on that platform, and I am here to stand by that platform while I continue on the pay roll. [Laughter.]

The subscribers to this memorial, citizens of the United States, doing business as bankers, merchants, manufacturers, steamship owners, and agents in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Savannah, Charleston, Jacksonville, New Orleans, and other places, and also other citizens of the United States, who have been for many years engaged in the export and import trade with the Island of Cuba, finding that their several interests are suffering severely from the long continuance of the struggle now going on in the Island of Cuba.

Oh, there is no struggle there. They are mistaken. They have not been informed so officially by the Spanish minister in Washington. Every merchant who signed this petition was probably a common-sense American citizen. He did not have to wait to be notified officially that his cargoes could not go in or come out at the ports of entry. He did not need a telegram from the descendants of Queen Isabella that he could not do business in the State of New York and in the Island of Cuba. This is their petition. It is too long to read in full.

The magnitude of the American commerce with the Island of Cuba is readily shown by citing the volume of our trade with that island for the three years 1893, 1894, and 1895, in each of which years the value of our imports from Cuba exceeded \$75,000,000. Our exports to Cuba ranged in value from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 a year during these years, and had been even greater in previous years, during the reciprocity treaty of the United States with Spain.

When you read it you can see we have some financial and commercial interests in this little island as well as the sentiment that my friend likes to talk about—that sentiment, that splendid sentiment which is not moved at the sale of women and children, but that sentiment that brings tears to the eye at the thought of the great-great-great-grandmother who pawned her jewels for Columbus to cross the ocean. [Laughter.] Yes; she did. We have done her all the honors we can, and to her memory. It is not against Isabella; but let me call the Senator's attention to the fact, in passing, that the Spaniard in 1492 was a Spaniard and a Spaniard true. She sent Columbus across the water, risking her money against his life, to find gold for the queen; but when he could not produce the thing that the Spaniard wanted he was put in irons; and he died a pauper; and he is not buried in Spanish soil, thank God! who doeth all things well.

I am not familiar with the practice of the Senate, but I am growing somewhat familiar with some of its practices. [Laughter.] I desire, if it is proper, to save the time of the Senate, that this splendid petition, containing names of leading merchants in the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, and in Bethlehem, Pa., St. Louis, signers in Boston, signers in New Orleans, signers in Mobile, signers in Pensacola, Fla., signers in Brunswick, Ga., and so on to the end of the chapter—I shall be pleased, if it is proper (and if it is not, I shall ask the Secretary to read it, so that it may go into the RECORD, not all the names to encumber the RECORD), that it be printed in the RECORD, so that the Senators of the United States may know what the business men of this country think of this proposition, that the time has come that America should defend her own in the Island of Cuba.

Mr. MORGAN. I will suggest to the honorable Senator, if he will allow me, that he print that document as an appendix to his remarks, and put in all the names.

Mr. MASON. I ask unanimous consent to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the document will be printed in the RECORD, as suggested.

Mr. MASON. Speaking again of the government of Cuba, I have here a half dozen newspapers printed there; in the woods, they say. I can not read them. I can not even tell the dates. I have only the word of the gentleman who gave me them, and because I happen to be a Senator of the United States I do not think I ought to get so far on top of the Capitol that I can not receive common, ordinary, intelligent communications. The Spanish minister has not sent with his seal the statement that that [indicating] is a Cuban paper, but I believe it and you believe it.

It is common sense we are after. It is the common sense that our friends on the other side seek to avoid. I want it understood here now, as I present this petition from the merchants and the business men of these great cities, that it finds echo in every hamlet among the people where I live. During the political campaign just closed, during the great struggle for supremacy of the two great parties, I felt the pulse of thousands of people. There are no Senate rules among the people. In Illinois, if they do not like what you say they say so, and if they do, they let you know it.

In Illinois, from Cairo to Dunleith, 400 miles of the best State in the Union, the plain people there, as well as the merchants, in response to the proposition that the Cubans should be free, agreed with one acclaim whenever it was mentioned; and, while to-day the people are waiting with bated breath and financial affairs are dependent upon our action on the tariff, when you get at

the deep undertone of the conscience of the Christian people of this country it says: "Let us have freedom in Cuba. Let the Spaniard go back to his own land, and let us have no slaves upon our continent."

Not that alone makes me make this plea. My friend the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON] understands that I appreciate and honor him for his convictions, and I ask at his kind and generous hands only the same consideration I give to him. I have not called names. I shall not indulge in that, and I shall not permit it. You can call jingo as long as you like. You may define jingo as long as you please. Patrick Henry was a jingoist according to the definition of the gentlemen who are trying to defeat the insurgents in Cuba. Every man who would rather fight than buy peace at the price of the dishonor of his wife or his child has been called a jingo from the days of early republics until now.

I am for the liberty, for the independence of Cuba on a better and broader ground. I propose such action as shall secure for that island and for ourselves a better environment, not only for trade or commerce, not at all for the extension of territory—and that is the difference between the ordinary English lawmaker and ourselves. A friend of mine who was entertained at a dinner in London within three months related to me that when one of the great officers of the English navy said, "We are as ready as ever to extend English trade with the English navy," the merchants of London jumped into their chairs and put their napkins above their heads. That is not the sentiment of the American citizen. For nineteen hundred years we have professed to follow the Nazarene. It is not the sentiment that comes from an American conscience. I would not extend our trade one dollar nor sell one pound of American corn at the point of a bayonet. I would not steal the Island of Cuba, nor seek the acquisition of territory by force—which is another name for grand larceny—and I would not put the American flag in Hawaii or Cuba, or on the smallest island of the sea, to add glory to the flag, without the consent of the poorest inhabitant who lived in that island. That is the difference. I do not want Cuba. I am not praying for annexation. I hope I have one glimpse of the divine thought that was in Lincoln's mind when, driving along one day, he saw a struggling bug upon its back and got out of the carriage and with his cane turned the insect to its feet, and when he got back said, "Well, I have given him a show, an equal show with all the other bugs." [Laughter.]

I wish to give Cuba an equal show. She is not getting it to-day. You are keeping it from her. To-day Spain can come into your market and buy every gun you have to sell, if she has the money. Last night a little band started out to cross the water to take guns and ammunition and dynamite to the insurgents. We watched it like hawks. We have filled our prisons with them. We are paying taxes to-day to keep native Cubans from going back to fight for their own country; and this is America, and this is the United States Senate!

Equal before the law is the demand of the joint resolution. Equal rights of belligerency—that is all that is asked for in the joint resolution by the Senator who has offered it—not preference, not help to the insurgents, but simply to give them a chance, one struggling chance, to come to our shores and with their money buy our goods. When you do it, when the sanctity of law is above it, in the providence of God there is a Lafayette in this country—I do not know his name, but somewhere among men who have grown weary of worshipping the millions some American will

have told to him by his boy the story of Lafayette—and he will build the ship if the Government refuses to do so. He will bring ships, he will furnish the courage to the insurgents, he will stand for equal rights before the law; and all we ask is this simple proposition, that hereafter when the Cuban government, so called, offers to buy in our markets, offers to set sail from our ports, we will treat her exactly as we do the Spanish Government.

We hesitate because of an ancient barnacle known as international law—Presidential prerogative, Congressional jurisdiction—and we mingle words with the divine principles of liberty, forgetting for the time that we come from the great liberty-loving people of all the world.

Mr. President, I was going to read extracts from what purported to be instructions of the Assistant Secretary of State to one of our consuls in Cuba. Most of you are familiar with them. I do not believe it is fair to put into the RECORD those statements when the gentleman is said to deny them. The only denial I see is in the press this morning, which says that the State Department says that Mr. Rockhill never sent any such letters.

Therefore it is but fair to him, it is but fair to myself, and but fair to the cause I represent, not to quote those things and make them a part of the RECORD. It is charged; he denies it; the proof is not here. I leave it with his conscience, but I call his attention to one fact: In the communication yesterday received from the Executive Mansion, the facts of which were furnished to the President presumably from the State Department, it is stated that "official information from our consuls in Cuba establishes the fact that a large number of Americans," etc. When did this gentleman get that information to furnish the Executive? Let him answer the people through the press to-morrow. He says he never told a United States consul to shade a report; he never told him to mark it "confidential" to keep the Senate from getting it.

Let him make answer through the press and over his name to-night or to-morrow, if he will. When, Mr. Rockhill, did you get the information that you sent to the Senate that 800 American citizens are starving in Cuba? Did you get it yesterday? Did you get it last night? Did you get it last month? You know what we know. Let him answer. He may deny, if he will, directing the United States consuls to withhold reports, but he can not deny, and show the file mark of his office upon the proposition that we believe to be true, that for days and months he has had possession of that information and that it never went to the Executive until Saturday.

One word, Mr. President, and I shall conclude. My good friend the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WELLINGTON], who is always in earnest and always good-natured, and who wrested the great State he represents from the fallacies of free silver and free trade, seemed to think yesterday, and has intimated to-day, that no newspaper reports can be relied upon. My rule in that regard is this: When they speak well of me, I am sure it is true, and if they speak ill, everybody knows it is false. [Laughter.] So we are very apt to act, I admit, when we read these reports from Cuba in the newspapers. When they do not happen to fit his idea of independence, of belligerency, he can not possibly believe them, and I can not help believing them. It is the way we are made.

But as to his general statement in regard to them, he did not mean to be unfair, but he was. Chicago had a reporter on the

field of a three-days engagement in Cuba. Charles Crosby was killed in the Island of Cuba. He was not there to write romances. He was there to furnish the great, throbbing 70,000,000 of people with news, news of struggling Cuba; to put a light upon the watch tower of the liberty-loving people of America that they might know whether liberty was dead or whether on this continent the slave should still be held. Crosby was not a romancer. He answered to his profession with his life. Of ten of the correspondents of the United States newspapers who have gone to Cuba, five have left their lives there. Fifty per cent of the ten we know. Four are dead, one of them is standing to-day in the shadow of the grave, and yet, going into a climate that is dangerous, going into the very field of battle, as the old war correspondents used to do in 1860 to 1865, they have stood where the fight was hot, and no man who carried a gun earned more honor in many a field than the brave newspaper lad who sent the news, sent home tidings of victory for the Union flag.

I insist that while newspaper reports are often conflicting, often, it may be, exaggerated, I insist that after eighteen months of repeated statements, after eighteen months of conflicting news—not conflicting upon one proposition—after eighteen months of regular reports from the scene of conflict, it is time for gentlemen to say we have got to accept the newspaper reports. There is no contradicting it. I do not deny the fact that they are often enlarged upon, but I do say that the best means of information we have comes from that source, and I am sure my distinguished friend did not mean, in the heat of his argument, to cast a reflection upon a class of men whose profession is as honorable as his or mine, and more laborious, involving much more suffering, God knows, to that class of them certainly who have to sit in the gallery at about \$40 a week and listen to the speeches we make on this floor.

Mr. GALLINGER. Will the Senator from Illinois permit an observation?

Mr. MASON. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. As I remember the matter, Mr. Crosby, the correspondent of the Chicago newspaper, lost his life while he was on the field observing a battle between the Spanish and Cuban forces. Is that correct?

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir. He stood within 6 feet of the insurgent general. He was shot by a sharpshooter. It is the first time I have ever known a Chicago newspaper man to get the worst of it. [Laughter.] He always gets the news and never gets hurt; but this brave boy, who was reporting for one of our Chicago dailies, was struck here [indicating] and the bullet came out there [indicating], and he fell, mortally wounded. He was a newspaper man, not a writer of fiction.

Mr. GALLINGER. Yet we seem to be hesitating, and some Senators are declaiming against our acknowledging a state of war in Cuba. They say it does not exist.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, one word and I shall be through. I am sorry to have taken so long. I have felt that I wanted to vote upon this question, and following my platform, every line of which I read and a part of which I wish to insert in my speech I intend to vote upon this question if it takes all summer.

My friend says that the four years of depression came from a lack of confidence in Europe. It is true to a certain extent.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I beg the Senator's pardon, if he will

permit me right here again. I am sure he does not want to be unfair.

Mr. MASON. Not at all.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I said it arose from a lack of confidence both among ourselves and in European countries.

Mr. MASON. All right. I will accept the amendment. Still he has not told it all. It came from the widespread dissatisfaction and distrust; but it came principally because the money of the country would not circulate among the arteries of trade.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Why was that?

Mr. MASON. Because of the passage of the bill that encouraged Americans to give labor to foreigners when it should have been given to the American people. You preached that doctrine from every stump in Maryland, and believe it as well as I do.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Certainly. I merely wished to emphasize the fact of the lack of confidence.

Mr. MASON. Yes; but it was not produced by anything we had done by way of demanding our rights among the nations of the world. Fear of Europe! Afraid of war! He suggested how gunboats would clean our frontier.

Mr. President, if we did not have a ship in the world, if every gun was melted into a plowshare, if every bayonet was buried, if every ship we ever had was sunk in the middle of the sea, there is no nation in the world, much less Spain, that would ever dare strike our colors or invade American soil. [Applause in the galleries.]

Here is my doctrine at St. Louis. Its location was a trifle bad. [Laughter.] "Cuba" is the heading. I am reading to you, my colleagues upon this floor, the platform I submitted to the intelligent people of Illinois as a reason why McKinley should be President and I, or some other good Republican, should be Senator from that State. I read it, and I want every gentleman on this side of the Chamber to remember it and those of you who have changed your minds, say so when you help to filibuster against the joint resolution. Oh, filibuster is a harsh word! It jars upon the sensitive minds and the delicate touch of those of us who are popular in Spanish quarters, but filibuster is the word. You have indulged in it with a grave and gentle smile. You have kept from a vote with a filibuster, covered with a masked face and kid gloves, but I give you notice that when you get a filibuster from Illinois there will be no mask, there will be no kid gloves. It will be a straight filibuster from the start to the finish.

Here is my platform that I was pledged to when I came here: "Cuba."

You remember how the great hall rang. The great, struggling, liberty-loving people of the world said: "At last the Republican party is on the high road to success. McKinley, sure! Liberty for Cuba will come." The Republican party spoke, and from the days of Lincoln to the days of McKinley it has never stepped backward from one plank of its platform, and it will not do so now.

"Cuba!" at St. Louis when we wanted votes. [Laughter.] Listen, my good Republican brother. There is here no question of Presidential jurisdiction or Congressional jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the convention decided it—the jurisdiction of the convention—and there never has been a convention since Lincoln was nominated that came closer from the hearts of the people than the convention at St. Louis. Hear what the jurisdiction of the

people was. Hear the decree of a court that always has jurisdiction once in four years:

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba—

What—

having lost control of Cuba—

Now, as a Republican, I ask the Republicans who live upon that platform, have you lost control, or do you rise to the dizzy height of Senatorial jurisdiction and forget your promises made before election and in convention?

Spain having lost jurisdiction—

having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens—

Was it not true? In the name of God and the light of prophecy, have you read the message of McKinley? Then go back and read the first chapter (our platform), and see whether, in the light of prophecy, taking Mr. McKinley's message, our splendid President and our splendid convention, it was not true. Did he not tell you that 800 American citizens are starving there? Did we not tell you in our convention that they had so lost control of Cuba that they could not protect American citizens?

Just let me read this plank:

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

In convention pledged to the loaf of independence, in the hour of success we hesitate to give the crumb of belligerency. I am proud to be a member of the party that never broke its pledge. Yes, it has once or twice, because the Senate was in the control of the minority. But from the days of Lincoln to the days of McKinley that party has never broken its pledge when it had the power in legislative bodies to fulfill it. In your convention at St. Louis pledges were made by those upon this side of the Chamber. My distinguished friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] was on the committee to draw up the resolution, and when it was heard, reciprocity shook the rafters, protection set everybody to work with hands and feet; but when we spoke the broad, deep tone of liberty, when we said we remembered Valley Forge, and by the eternal freedom there won, by everything dear to Americans, the Republican party was committed to the independence of Cuba, the hall and the rafters rang and the people all over the whole United States said, "Thank God! Amen, and amen."

Are you as good as your promises before election? Did you believe in the platform then? There is not one on this side of the Chamber who did not speak for it in all its planks, and to-day you stand here idle, not like Republicans, but like men who seem to have gone to sleep, men who seem to have forgotten the pledges their party made.

Mr. President, I had intended to read one or two instances where we do not rely altogether on newspaper reports. No one doubts the statement of John McCullough, an American who owns his own farm 20 miles east of Sagua la Grande. In February, 600 refugees were upon his farm starving, sick with fever.



He rode to the officers of the Spanish army at Sagua begging to buy quinine and other medicines, and the reply was: "Let them suffer." Mr. McCullough protested in the name of humanity, and said they were pacific, innocent peasants. "But they are Cubans, are they not?" asked the Spaniard. Mr. McCullough said they were Cubans, yes. "Then let them die. So much the better. The quicker the breed is exterminated the better I like it."

No one doubts his statement. He is not a newspaper correspondent writing fiction. No one doubts the statement made by that woman who has spoken in many places, who saw the outrages in the past. No one doubts that they took the Cuban boy, 15 or 16 years old, and stood him in the line and shot him like a dog, not for what he had done, but that the blood of an insurgent was in his veins. You remember it possibly, about the time we came here; when I thought I saw the grandest gathering in the world under one roof. I saw my colleagues come in one by one. I saw the Representatives of the House, and recognized that here was the lawmaking power of the greatest nation in the world. I saw the Supreme Court, in its dignity and its great equipment for work, file in one by one, and remembered that that judiciary, in all the annals of the past, had never had its character impugned or its reputation assailed.

I saw the representatives of the Army and Navy come in and take their seats here. I saw our wives and our children in the galleries, and I was inspired with the thought that this is the greatest nation in the world, strong in war or in peace; and at that very moment I remembered the Cuban boy, without a name, taken out the day before by the Spaniard to be shot to death. He asked only one privilege, that his eyes might be uncovered, that he might turn his eyes to the hills from whence he came. I have been outraged and shocked by the cruelties of the past, but I was inspired by the death of that Cuban boy, and I have been silent too long to carry out the wishes of the plain people who sent me here.

I hold my commission, Mr. President, from no set of men. I got my seat from no boss. I hold my place, your equals politically, through the machinations or dictations of no machine. By the eternal power I hold my commission from the people. I promised the people I would speak, and if I have been too long silent or too long speaking I shall answer to my people and my people alone.

You know the outrages. You do not need official returns. You know them from the reports of women of our own country who have seen them pass the daughters of the Cuban out of the windows as a prey to the brutal licentiousness of the Spanish soldier, and we, fathers of daughters, gather our children about our own hearthstone and lock the outside door and say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" I am my brother's keeper! Then we march back to the Senate of the United States, with the voices of children and women in our ears, innocent girls ravished and murdered by the Spanish soldiery, and not denied; we gather around in our dignified way and talk about Presidential jurisdiction, Congressional jurisdiction!

Mr. President, no one expects war, but if to keep our promises with Cuba and protect her means war, let it come. If to protest against the butchery of women and children means war, let it come. If to defend the honest daughters of brave patriots means an insult to Spain and war, in the name of God, let it come, and come quickly. Whether you sleep bound hand and foot by the rules of order, or whether you speak like American brave men, the spirit of the Nazarene is upon us; liberty shall prevail, and the Island of Cuba, under the providence of God, shall be free.



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